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Report No. 407

June 5, 1953

### OUTSTANDING MAGAZINE ARTICLES RELATING TO

#### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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This weekly report presents digests of current magazine editorials and articles of special pertinence to U.S. foreign relations—but does not necessarily mirror over—all opinion.

This issue includes digests from the following magazines listed in the order in which they appear.

America, p. 1 Nation's Business, p. 2 American Mercury, p. 4 The Commonweal, (5/29), p. 5; (6/5), p. 15 Wallace's Farmer, p. 5 Capper's Farmer, p. 5 The New Leader, p. 6 Business Week, p. 7 Magazine of Wall Street, p. 8 Commercial & Financial Chronicle, p. 10 U.S. News & World Report, p. 11 Christian Century, p. 11 The Nation, p. 12 Newsweek, p. 13 Time, p. 14 Barron's, p. 15 Life, p. 16 New Republic, p. 16

ASIA - Wallace's Farmer, p. 5; Commercial & Financial Chronicle, p. 10; Nation, p. 12

BIG POWER CONFERENCE - New Leader, p. 6; Magazine of Wall St., p. 9; Nation, p. 12; Newsweek, p. 13; Commonweal, p. 15

BRICKER AMENDMENT - Nation's Business, p. 3

CHINA & KOREA - New Leader, p. 7; Nation, p. 12; Newsweek, p. 13; Time, p. 14

EISENHOWER, PRESIDENT - Commonweal, p. 15; Life, p. 16; New Republic, p. 16

FOREIGN POLICY - America, pp. 1, 2; Commonweal, p.5; New Leader, p.7; Christian Century, p. 11; Newsweek, p. 14

GERMANY - Nation, p. 12; Newsweek, p. 13

GREAT BRITAIN - Magazine of Wall St., p. 9; U.S. News & World Report, p. 11; Newsweek, p. 13; New Republic, p. 16

INFORMATION PROGRAM - America, p. 1

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION - Nation's Business, p. 3

JAPAN - Newsweek, p. 13

MIDDLE EAST - Magazine of Wall St., p. 8; Christian Century, p. 11

OATIS, William - Magazine of Wall St., p. 8

RUSSIA - Commercial & Financial Chronicle, p. 10; U.S. News & World Report, p. 11; Newsweek, p. 13; Barron's, p. 15

STATE DEPARTMENT - Sat. Evening Post, p. 10; Christian Century, p. 11; Newsweek, p. 13

TRADE - America, p. 2; Nation's Business, p. 3; Capper's Farmer, p. 5; New Leader, p. 6; Business Week, p. 7; Magazine of Wall St., p. 8; Newsweek, p. 13

UNITED NATIONS - Nation's Business, p. 3; American Mercury, p. 4; Christian Century, p. 11

WESTERN EUROPE - New Leader, p. 6

OUTSTANDING MAGAZINE ARTICLES RELATING TO

#### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AMERICA - May 30

"Allied Unity: 'A Venture in Distress'" (editorial When Mr. Churchill delivered his May 11 foreign-policy address, he risked splitting the Atlantic alliance wide open. Attlee's contribution merely underscored the misgivings which the British feel about the competence of U.S. to carry on unchallenged the leadership of the free world. They doubt our capacity, not in brawn but in political wisdom, to engineer the free world through the terrain of world politics. These doubts, found on the Continent also, light up the truth that the postwar posture of the free nations is undergoing a major change. The periods of stop-gap relief, of economic reconstruction, of aid during the civil war in Greece, perhaps even of mounting a very minimum military defense, at least, against Soviet aggression, have receded into the past--in Europe. Installation of the Eisenhower Admin. has been attended by ambiguities in the U.S. foreign policy which appear to our allies to throw them on their own resources. The shilly-shallying of our Govt. has upset the apple-cart.

Basically, U.S. foreign policy, up to the last few weeks, has been on the right track. What it needs is courageous completion. Nothing can come of high-level peace talks until the USSR gives some proof that it wants peace. The President is right on this issue. Moreover, how can the West negotiate with the Russians until its partners, especially France, agree on a solution to the problem of Germany acceptable to themselves and to the Germans? The President must fulfil the necessary implications of our foreign policy by routing the "confusionists" in his own party. So long as the free world's leader wants to have his cake and eat it, his partners will nibble away under the same delusion.

#### "Toward a Better VOA" (editorial)

The unhappy plight of VOA suggests how far we are from winning the war of ideas abroad. This organ has yet to hit its stride and seems never to have established itself in the confidence of either Congress or country. It has always had a bad press here. Peacetime international propaganda is new to us. Mistakes were inevitable. Sometimes the effect was the opposite to that intended. Fault has been found with the Voice's propensity to depict our American civilization in terms of purely material progress, an approach that could not win the admiration of those we wished to make our friends. Security-minded Congressmen have never forgotten that the IIA succeeded the OWI which employed persons who today would survive no security check. State Dept. itself has been jealous of IIA, even though theoretically VOA is under it.

#### AMERICA (Contd.)

When Dr. Johnson accepted directorship of IIA, he seemed to have a fresh approach to problems that had baffled his predecessors. But even his new ideas appear to have encountered resistance in Wash. e.g., budget restrictions. Meanwhile, the propaganda war goes on from E. Europe to the Far East, whether we like it or not. If it is to be effective, VOA must soon emerge from its doldrums and uncertainties. Whether we engage in international propaganda is not left to our free choice. We are being attacked via radio in all corners of the globe by USSR which, with its satellites, spent an estimated \$1,409-billion for propaganda in 1950, as compared to our \$100-million. We stand a poor third in the number of hours devoted per week to foreign broadcasting with 302 as against 695 for Radio Moscow and 561 for BBC. The example of friends as of enemies should convince both the people and Wash. that our operations need strengthening.

"World Leadership Is For the Mature" - Edward L. Henry (Prof. of economics and political science)

There are some deep-seated institutional weaknesses in the U.S. inhibiting a consistent, long-range foreign policy. The world problem cannot be wholly described in economic terms, yet in so far as it is economic, the U.S. is equipped to cope with it by virtue of our achievements in providing for the material needs of man. We have not always played the hero's role in the world. During and after W. War I, e.g., we could have raised our tariffs and forgotten about European debt repayment, or lowered tariffs and called for repayment. We could not logically do both, but we did. Europe's appellation of "Uncle Shylock" was a natural reaction to our own flouting of elementary economics. Have we left behind, as mistakes made by an immature nation, the Hawley-Smoot tariff, and Roosevelt's sabotage of the London Economic Conference of 1934?

Straws in the wind suggest that such blunders may not remain in the files. A tide seems to be swelling in Congress and the country which could roll us back in the direction of economic isolationism. Appointment of J. E. Talbott, a high-tariff advocate, to the Tariff Comm. looks like Administration bowing to this sentiment. The Simpson bill could leave little of the Reciprocal Trade Act except the name. The foes of free trade are marshalling their forces. If a business recession occurred, they could touch off a panicky response to old isolationist symbols in the breasts of management and labor alike. With so much at stake, a glance backward does not reassure us that domestic politics will not again submerge national interests abroad.

Absence of party discipline enables interest groups to vitiate legislative objectives of national leaders. American public opinion may be ignorant and uninterested in foreign affairs. We have moved into an era as world leader. There are

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AMERICA (Contd.)

strong forces biasing us towards instability and repetition of past mistakes. If the U.S. cannot summon enough vitality to push ahead with the program begun, we will relinquish by default our responsibilities and nourish the latent seeds of extremism that remain close to the surface in Europe as elsewhere in this unstable world.

#### NATION'S BUSINESS - June

## "How's Business?--Foreign Trade"

Eventually we will have to decide whether to increase the level of international trade or to adopt a protectionist policy. The initiative now rests with the protectionists. The Simpson bill's wording leaves no doubt that it would seriously curb our imports. A simple one-year extension of RTA would only postpone the day when this country must decide whether it wants to trade. If it is to return to the economic philosophy and practices of the depression era, the trade agreements program will have to be scrapped. But, if we were to increase international trade, we must recognize that many domestic policies are inimical to trade expansion.

#### "Let's Look Before We Adopt 'Em'"

Consider the ILO session in progress. The subject: maternity care, to be provided by govts. and employers to their people. The conferees decided that a mother unable to nurse her own child should be provided with milk by her govt. If govt. pays for milk for the babe whose mother is not able to nurse him, what of the child whose mother has this ability? The delegates decide that the mother who can provide her own milk should be paid by the govt. for doing so and paid by her employer while dispensing it (for two half-hour periods daily on work days). Sound absurd? It happened. The convention now awaits U.S. adoption. There's slight chance of that, but the record shows that international treaties have been approved by the Senate ith as few as six members present. That's a point to keep in mind, particularly when you're considering the present movement to tighten this nation's international treaty mechanism by requiring that treaties must be implemented by our own law, passed in regular procedures, before they apply as domestic laws in the U.S.

"Trends: The State of the Nation" - Felix Morley
In preparing its "Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural
Rights," the UN followed not American but Communist theory. If
it were ratified by U.S., this country, like Russia, would
establish the "right" of everybody to a govt. job, to paid vacations at govt. expense, to social security, adequate food, clothing and housing, continuous improvement of living conditions,
free rides of every conceivable character, from medical care to
college education. Obviously, this proposed treaty was Communistinspired; the right to own property is significantly omitted.
The Eisenhower Admin. has now happily informed UN that it will
not sign but the fact that Truman innocently endorsed this has

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NATION'S BUSINESS (Contd.)

greatly stimulated the movement for the Bricker amendment. Its major purpose is simple. It seeks to check that enormous concentration of power in the executive which Marx called the indispensable preliminary to the triumph of communism. And if communism, rather than Russia, is our enemy, then this counterstroke against the most subtle and insidious of all communist techniques is overdue.

#### AMERICAN MERCURY - June

"The Truth About the United Nations" - Chesley Manly
The UN is a self-evident futility, but that alone would
neither incite public opinion nor overcome the inertia of statesmen who perpetrated a fraud upon the people and are loath to admit
it. The U.S. will not withdraw from UN until the people make it
known that their intelligence is insulted and their moral sense
outraged by continued fraternization, in a purported peace organization, with international communism. The U.S. is alienating
Asian and African peoples because it supports British and French
imperialism.

Objective teaching for school children about the UN is not what UN supporters want. They seek to indoctrinate children with propaganda for a suprenational "world community." A major purpose of the UN was "to relieve mankind from the crushing burden of armaments." Seven years after its first general assembly Americans are paying \$50-\$60-billion a year for armaments and foreign aid. The UN has not solved a single political question which could not have been settled by traditional processes of diplomacy if UN had never been created. UN has never called for a complete cessation of trading with the enemy, and U.S., Canada, and the Philippines are the only UN members that have stopped all such trade. Neither has UN sought to exercise the moral authority ascribed to it by its supporters by condemning the USSR for its part in the Korean aggression. Stalin accepted the UN to lull the U.S. and others into a false sense of security.

These are some of the facts about the UN that should be taught in our schools. Unlike the League of Nations, which expelled Russia when it attacked Finland, UN could not kick the Communists out, because of the SC veto. Sec. Dulles appears less hopeful than Mr. Acheson about reforming the Soviets, but he believes the UN restrains them by mobilizing and focusing upon them "the moral judgment of the world." With the single exception of its finding that Moscow "failed to carry out" its treaty with Nationalist China, the UN has never pronounced a moral judgment upon the USSR. The UN should be abolished because:

1) Debates in the organization exacerbate international tensions and ill will. 2) Communist countries are chief beneficiaries of the UN, using it as a sounding board for poisonous propaganda against the U.S. 3) The USSR uses the UN as a cover for military secret police agents. 4) The UN spawns treaties which could undermine the Constitution and subvert U.S. sovereignty.

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THE COMMONWEAL - May 29

"The Time is Now" (Week by Week)

This is the moment in the history of the U.S. to stop and take stock. The issue is one of survival. Soothing phrases from Wash, tend to obscure these hard facts: The U.S. is slackening its efforts. The draft call is to be cut in half. The Voice of America budget is being revised downward. Plans for development of the Air Force are to be cut back. Military aid for allies is to be pruned. A new general staff has been brought in with the object of taking a new, and smaller-scale, look at needs for military appropriation. In spite of anti-Communist campaign oratory the truth is that military muscle, not fat, is being cut. No one in 1953 would admit to being an isolationist, but this is the path the nation is being tempted to travel.

There is no easy way to meet the Soviet threat, but our future as a nation and that of the free world depend on our rising to that challenge. Today, reckless men are urging us toward one of two contradictory goals: 1) We face the possibility of a gradual disintegration of our alliance with other nations, with isolation forced on the U.S. 2) We face the chance of a hasty plunge without warning into all-out war. As things stand now, it would be a war for which irresponsible men have already started to take away our defenses. Only Pres. Eisenhower can stay our drift in either direction. It is time for him to assert his leadership of the Republican party.

#### WALLACE'S FARMER - May 16

#### "Not Too Much Wheat" (editorial)

Here are two arguments for staying away from allotments and marketing quotas on wheat this year. Pakistan is short on food. They need 50 million bushels of wheat the worst way. India will probably be in trouble again. Our wheat reserves can be used effectively to make friends in Asia--where we certainly need friends.

### CAPPER'S FARMER - June

#### "Watching the Washington Scene"

The newly created Foreign Agricultural Service as a big division in the USDA has as its goal expansion of foreign markets for our surplus farm production. The idea is supported by most active farm organization leaders, except a minority group that believes in domestic production controls or subsidies instead. Boosters for foreign markets say high price support programs have tended to price our surplus products out of world markets just as butter has priced itself out of domestic markets. Tariff barriers and trade restrictions by U.S. have led other countries to blockade our export products in turn. The new idea is to free the Foreign Agricultural Service from the dictates of State Dept. in handling farm exports. Too many short-sighted policies on the part of State Dept. have helped reduce our cotton exports, in 30 years,

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THE NEW LEADER - June 1

"The Coming Bermuda Parley" (editorial)

Less than a week after announcement of the Bermuda meeting, the Kremlin refused to renew Austrian peace talks -- a significant test of peaceful intentions -- and pressure for submission to Moscow was somewhat reduced. There would be cause for a major inter-Allied conference even without such pressure. Contradictions in Allied policy in Europe reflect not so much the bumbling of diplomats as the shocking difference in the climate of French. British and American opinion, each of which has been profoundly ignorant and/or misinformed on fundamental issues. A broader conference is needed, with closed doors, at which leading political figures and opinion-makers of all three nations could discuss frankly the best information available to their govts. Chief problems are Korea, a European defense system and the continuing European crisis. But domestic political facts must not dictate Allied decisions. The grim fact remains that. much as Britain would like to placate Mao and resume East-West trade. much as France would prefer to rearm neither Germany nor herself. the Western world is still menaced by an aggressive international conspiracy.

It is up to Pres. Eisenhower to exert leadership at Bermuda. 1) He must seek Allied confirmation of the principles of his April 16 speech as the NATO common goal-the only suitable basis for future negotiations with the Kremlin. The men at Bermuda must make plain that there is but one firm NATO policy. 2) Express the unmistakable temper of our people: "Billions for defense, but not a cent more for procrastination. 3) Reaffirm the fact that Britain, France and other European powers are not our only allies, and that the Asian peoples ready to fight to preserve democratic institutions are more than "poor relations"; called on to die at one moment, sold down the river the next. He must reaffirm the original concept of the Korean war-a battle for a democratic, united and independent Korea. If the Reds reject the latest UN offer, recent atomic-artillery tests indicate new possibilities for a rapid end of that conflict. This is the time for bold strokes rather than vacillation; for pressing the offensive to the enemy; to tighten the East-West embargo, not to lift it; to win Korea, not to abandon her; to arm free Europe, not to permit her to prostrate herself; to appeal boldly to Soviet groups and classes not to bolster their adventuristic rulers. If the conferees meet the challenge with disunity, or purchase unity by rank appeasement, the sons of the West will pay even as a generation of the East has been paying.

"New Economic Policies for Europe" - Lewis Corey (Prof. of Economics, Antioch Coll.)

The mere lowering of U.S. tariffs will not cure Europe's problems, and a policy of free trade is impractical in a world that wants to become industrial and is increasingly adopting economic planning. An over-emphasis on exports can blow up free world unity without solving its economic problems—even

THE NEW LEADER (Contd.)

making them worse. There are long-range dangers for the U.S., too, in a liberal tariff policy, e.g., of over-development of export industries and under-development of consumer-goods industries. Europe needs to initiate and carry out a long-range program based on new economic policies that world conditions call for today. The primary need is creation of a single European market, but the economic community of Europe will need more than free exchange of goods. It will need constantly growing production fostered by increasing capital investment at home in industry, agriculture and raw-materials production. Also, changed attitudes by European businessmen are needed. All neo-mercantilist restrictions must go, as must fear of initiative, enterprise and competition, and fear of high wages.

A new technology opens up prospects of new supplies of food and raw materials from ocean waters, from synthetics and plastics, and, soon, from atomic sources and sunlight. Nations and regions with a scarcity of food and raw materials can offset their deficiency by intensive production from new sources, "mining" and "farming" the waters around them. No one nation can fully utilize the new technological possibilities. It must be done on a world and a regional basis. The UN should add a program for unifying and promoting work on synthetic and plastic materials. Even under the "trade, not aid" policy, it will be necessary for U.S. to provide economic aid to other nations, as Sec. Dulles has admitted. As much as possible, this aid should promote new European economic policies.

"Korean POWs Are Test for Eisenhower" - Wm.Henry Chamberlin The American plan, which seems about to be watered down as result of pressure from our weak-willed allies, accepts the five-nation commission but tries to establish certain safeguards for Korean POWs. "I believe that, if the Eisenhower Admin. releases the anti-Communist POWs, the spontaneous cheer that greets any brave and just act would go up from one end of America to the other."

#### BUSINESS WEEK - May 30

"U.S. Businessmen Change Their Tune"

The American delegates to the International Chamber of Commerce meeting in Vienna were strictly on the defensive and did not push, as at earlier meetings, for convertibility and lower trade barriers. This reflects the political situation in Wash., where a Republican Congress is more inclined to fall back on the GOP's traditional protectionism than to follow the cautious approach toward freer trade that Pres. Eisenhower seems to favor. The present trend of U.S. foreign economic policy, plus some fear of a U.S. recession, led to talk of two developments that could be harmful to U.S. interests: 1) More reliance on regional trading arrangements that would tie W. Europe and the sterling area closer together. Such arrangements would mean

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BUSINESS WEEK (Contd.)

more or less permanent discrimination against dollar goods;
2) An increase in East-West trade. The Vienna Congress ended with the Europeans feeling that trade with the dollar world is more likely to go down than up in the next year or so, while there's a good chance that East-West trade can expand substantially.

MAGAZINE OF WALL ST. - May 30

"Liberalizing Foreign Economic Policy"

Sen. Cooper, Kentucky Republican, recently indicated the core of the problem when he stated that a fresh study must be made in order to revise our fundamental trade policies. He said that we could not maintain world leadership unless we proceeded on the basic assumption that our existing trade policies were entirely inadequate. Such a study is overdue. "Trade, not aid" essentially formulates the proposition that trading opportunities of the free world must be enlarged if it is to surmount its economic difficulties. There are signs that unless the nations can secure greater access to our markets, they will look to Iron Curtain countries. Thus, either we open up our markets on a broader scale, or stand by as our allies loosen their ties with us. This is what the President is trying to say to the U.S. public when he advocates liberalizing our foreign economic policies.

## "Washington Sees:"

State Dept. is hopefully reading into the release of Wm. Oatis from the Czechoslovakian jail a favorable peace omen, but that probably can be put down to wishful thinking. The truth probably is that the Czechs finally obtained from their Kremlin masters a clearance to let the American "spy" free on the plea that the economy of Czechoslovakia could no longer stand the strain of embargoes against its products. Tariff sanctions have been keeping shoes, watches, and other products of the captive state out of U.S. The subservient Czechs at first thought they could hold up the pistol to U.S. and obtain a steel mill for release of Oatis. State Dept. said no and a stalemate was reached with Reporter Oatis paying the price of his liberty. It was rough treatment for Oatis but the day this country buys its way to international respectability will be a rough one for 160 million of his countrymen.

## "Economic-Political Conditions in the Middle East" -

Turkey deserves our economic and military aid more than any other country I visited. With relatively modest aid in the right places, Turkey could be built into a showplace of democracy and private enterprise in the Near East. My feelings about the future of the three Arab States of the fertile crescent are mixed. I found, e.g., that the average Syrian or Iraqi was only mildly concerned with the winning of the cold war or the dangers of Communist imperialism. I fear that political and economic

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MAGAZINE OF WALL ST. (Contd.)

troubles in those Arab countries will multiply in future. The intelligentsia are dissatisfied, population pressure increases, and the growing middle class will demand more "say" in govts. now controlled by cliques of army officers and landowners. Except for Iraq, Russia does not seem to have shown her hand yet in the M. East. If she does, she may find conditions there ripe for the spread of communism unless the Arabs, like the Turks, discover the truth in time. There is no easy solution of the Arab-Israeli dispute; however, it may grow to be less violent if steps are taken for permanent resettlement of more than a half a million Arab refugees, and if something is done about the economic revival of Arab Palestine.

### "As I See It" - Charles Benedict

It was good to have the differences between U.S. and Britain come out in the open, no matter how shocking to have Mr. Churchill suggest a haphazard British-U.S.-Soviet conference as the solution to world peace. Taking stock of the critical outbursts from Churchill and Attlee, caused us to re-examine the British position in relation to the U.S .-- to reappraise our conflicting interests. It made us realize, too, that we could not take part in a conference with two strikes against us to begin, for it was made plain that the British Govt. is inclined toward the Russian viewpoint for recognition of Red China, as well as acceptance of the Communist solution for a Korean truce. For the U.S. to agree to these would be dangerous. It would give Russia and Red China a propaganda victory of such proportions as to destroy our prestige over the world, subordinate the position of the U.S. to Russia in the UN, extend Communist power over the Asian continent, open up the Pacific to Communist aggression and exploitation, and sign the death warrant for Chinese Nationalists.

Why then did Churchill, just as aware of the consequences as we are, suggest a meeting of expedience, and at the same time express willingness to accept a piecemeal settlement which would continue the cold war with its potentials for economic and financial disaster? That he is under pressure from certain groups at home and abroad is self-evident, yet it seems fantastic that he should have gone out on a limb to disrupt British-U.S. relations, unless leftist elements in Britain are gaining the upper hand. Pressure from abroad-from Premier Nehru-undoubtedly played its part. Britain hangs on to the remnants of her Empire and Churchill is dedicated to its restoration as a world power, let the chips fall where they may. Also Tito's visit to England was more than purely social in the face of press reports of the 'informal' negotiations in progress between diplomatic representatives of Belgrade and the Kremlin. Undoubtedly, shock and dismay and need for explanation and clarification of the situation is responsible for Pres. Eisenhower's call for the Bermuda conference. The need to clear the air is self-evident. There must be complete understanding between Britain and the U.S. if we are to work together. We cannot do so in an atmosphere of

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#### MAGAZINE OF WALL ST. (Contd.)

suspicion and recrimination. Lack of harmony has made possible one bloodless Russian victory after another, and we must put an end to it if we are to stop the Communists from swallowing the world.

## COMMERCIAL & FINANCIAL CHRONICLE - May 28

"Formosa and the Far East" - Harry A. Bullis Within past weeks, Russia has made peace overtures. It would be a mistake to accept at face value a complete change of Soviet heart. We should learn from painful consequences we experienced when we scrapped our military establishments in 1918 and in 1945. The Russian peace offensive is probably designed to destroy the European Defense Community. Also the new Russian Govt. apparently has internal difficulties with its people and in satellite countries. I believe Communism has reached its peak in Europe and Asia and is degenerating. As long as we and our Allies are gaining in both economic and military strength, time is working in our favor. We can afford to be patient and take advantage of favorable breaks, and we can help make the breaks. We should negotiate with Russia in our strength and keep strengthening our side until we have world peace. We should all support Pres. Eisenhower in his attempt to end the Korean war and the "cold" war, or, if necessary, to wage these wars more effectively.

## SATURDAY EVENING POST - June 6

"'State' Needs Loy Henderson Up in Front" (editorial) To connoisseurs of U.S. diplomatists it is surprising that, during debate over confirmation of Amb. Bohlen, more mention was not made of Loy Henderson, who not only speaks Russian but formerly served in Moscow as counselor. Without questioning Mr. Bohlen's ability, one may wonder why Mr. Henderson was overlooked. In Moscow he learned all that a foreigner can of Russian dictatorship. He understands the intricacies of world-wide Communist conspiracy, a fact which probably accounts for his having been cooped up in an inadequate job during the Achesonian captivity of State Dept. Conceivably he would have been persona non grata, like Grew, Hornbeck and Dooman, in the Kremlin eyes, but certainly in every respect of importance to this country Mr. Henderson would have made an admirable representative. It is not unreasonable to suggest that his usefulness might be better exploited than as ambassador to Iran. He has a working knowledge of where the stubborn remnants of the Truman-Acheson heresy have dug themselves in. He would certainly contribute to the recruitment of officials equipped with convictions needed to carry through our revamped foreign policy. His real function should be far broader than that, for Mr. Henderson's long experience in and around the USSR and his keen diplomatic intelligence qualify him to exert a decisive and favorable influence in our

Afo6f6ved4f6f7Release€2004/03/04r.€C4AeRDP58-00453R000200470003-3 waved in from the bull pen. We hope this is true.

#### U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT - June 5

#### "Why the 'Cold War' Will Go On"

Russia's "peace offensive" is just a new play in an old, familiar game. The Kremlin is not ready to deal with the West. The world is waking to the fact that Russia under Malenkov's Premiership is not greatly different from Russia under Stalin. What they really are after is to split the West, to keep the Allies squabbling among themselves. Any remaining doubt about that has been removed by Moscow's latest statement of policy, published in Pravda—that Britain and her W. Europe allies can come to terms with Russia, leaving the U.S. to go it alone. Moscow is making a play for a working arrangement with Britain, inviting her to broaden trade with "peace—loving, democratic states"—meaning Russia and the satellites. It all adds up to a new effort on Russia's part to capitalize on the discord that has been developing between the U.S. and Britain, and to angle for new concessions without promise of anything in return.

#### CHRISTIAN CENTURY - June 3

#### "America the Unloved" - (editorial)

Congress continues to be indignant over Mr. Attlee and other overseas critics of the U.S. Our people had better get used to the idea that criticism of things American is worldwide and increasing. The psychology behind this is simple. No one loves a boss or a benefactor—no matter how scrupulously they may try to avoid seeming like a boss or a benefactor. The U.S. has not always been as careful of the feelings of other nations in this regard as it might have been. For the long run we should use our power and wealth so that the jealousies and fears of other nations will fade away. For the short run, however, there is nothing for it but to accept unpopularity and not let politicians at home and overseas "stampede" them into calling for a foreign policy based on emotion.

### "Mr. Dulles Tackles a Tough One" - (editorial)

Mr. Dulles has not had what might be termed a good press. At home he is under fire for not having completely repudiated the "Truman-Acheson policies." Abroad, he is criticized for his trip to the M. East. Yet, the "derision" cast upon this trip seems particularly unwarranted. He is the first Sec. of State who thought it worthwhile to visit the M. East and this fact will not be lost on the peoples there. Perhaps most important, the trip is an indication that U.S. policy in that area—which has lost us the respect of the Arab world—is open to review. It is hard to tell how much the Secretary learned from his trip, certainly he will not produce any "diplomatic miracles." It was courageous for him to visit this turbulent region at this tense time, and an act of far-sighted wisdom.

"Continue Children's Fund Without the U.S.?" (editorial)
Sixty nations contribute to UNICEF. The UN provides relief
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#### CHRISTIAN CENTURY (Contd.)

international cooperation need not be exclusively concerned with the "merciless" struggle for power, and its program certainly deserves the support of U.S. Yet, until now, this country has made no decision as to whether it will continue to support the program. Many contributing nations are poor and the U.S. contribution is needed. Last year Congress authorized \$16-million for the fund, but appropriated only \$6.6-million. Pres. Eisenhower has asked that the balance be paid and this should be done. However, unless an additional sum is authorized, we shall have announced our intention to cease support of UNICEF. Such action would be the most wicked type of isolation "at its point of greatest need—aid to hungry and sick children."

### THE NATION - May 30

"Bonn. Bermuda, and Points East" (editorial)
The cold war seems to have settled into a contest of
"initiatives." Ike is trying to stall: to keep the initiative
but not do anything with it. The chances are against such
tactics working. British and French members of the team want
to use the initiative to get a decision. That is Ike's dilemma.
The Bermuda play gives him nothing more than a "time out." The
big issues loom just ahead, and on these the differences that
separate us from our allies are only a little shallower than
those between us and Moscow. The big issues are China and the
rest of Asia; Germany and the rest of Europe.

The Korean war began as a limited action to check aggression; it has become a campaign in an all-out struggle to end Communist power in Asia. The policy of the Administration in Korea and Formosa and Indochina differs from that of the generals and the China Lobby in tempo rather than intent. The only terms on which the Administration could now--or soon-reach a settlement in Asia are terms it has explicitly rejected. As a minimum it would have to agree to admit the Peking govt. to UN once an armistice is arranged, or at least as part of the political settlement to follow an armistice. If the Chinese Communists were admitted, Chiang's regime would not merely lose its present insubstantial claim to be the legitimate govt. of China but would also lose all right to rule Formosa. The U.S., as party to the Cairo convention promising restoration of Formosa to China, could continue to recognize Chiang's control there only in violation of its word and defend him only by using the unlawful means of armed intervention.

On Europe the U.S. would like a unified Germany based on free elections but committed in advance to association with the Western bloc. And it wants a European army incorporating German divisions without regard to German unification or a negotiated settlement with Russia. Britain and France want to negotiate with Moscow on realistic terms, and they know that whatever concessions on Germany the Russians may be prepared to make they will make in order to keep an armed Germany out of the Western

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## THE NATION (Contd.)

The President has successfully forestalled what the Prime Minister wanted—an early exploratory meeting with the Russians. But that sort of informal get-together could have been useful only if there had been initial unity among the Western allies. Since there is none, the Bermuda meeting makes sense. Bermuda at least offers an opportunity for the advocates of negotiation to regain the initiative.

## NEWSWEEK - June 8

## "Periscope - Opportunity?"

Intelligence experts in Wash. wonder if the Georgescu case was not bungled badly by FBI and State Dept. Instead of expelling the Rumanian diplomat who tried to blackmail Georgescu into becoming a spy, they could have allowed Georgescu to go on with the plot and tell the FBI what he learned about Red espionage.

#### "Traders"

The Japanese Trade Ministry shortly will authorize two trade deals with the Soviets: One firm will pay sterling for 50,000 tons of Sakhalin coal; another will get 450,000 tons in return for Japanese-built tuna boats and repair services for Soviet craft...Japanese trade with Red China amounted to more than \$2.5-million during the first four months of this year compared with \$600,000 during all of 1952.

#### "Hunger"

Reports of widespread famine in China are documented by the Reds themselves—4 million are stricken in the Southwest. The Northern wheat crop is seriously damaged. The situation has important political implications in view of China's recent agreement with Poland to barter grain for industrial equipment.

"Red Policy Shifts in Europe Cloud Bermuda Preparations"
Last week when the Kremlin suddenly abolished Gen. Chuikov's job as Soviet Control Commissioner in Germany, it created little stir in Wash., London and Paris, but in Bonn it sent a chill of apprehension throughout the Rhine-side hdqtrs. of the W. German Govt. To W. Germans it was the most definite sign that the Soviets were preparing a serious offer to the West for a conference on German reunification. Such an offer could torpedo the entire concept of the European Army and greatly enhance Dr. Adenauer's opponents, the Social Democrats, in the Sept. national elections. Yet Russia turned down the West's invitation to have the Big Four Ministers' deputies take the Austrian peace talks off ice.

Mr. Churchill dismissed the Pravda editorial of May 24 blasting the idea of the Bermuda meeting: "It is not as bad as I expected." Although his determination and arguments might appeal to Mr. Eisenhower, it was hard to see how the President

### NEWSWEEK (Contd.)

could reverse his own policy and agree to sit down with the Russians before they met his officially announced pre-conditions. Some British and U.S. diplomats believed that Churchill's prestige was high enough in the U.S. to silence criticism if the President should decide to modify his policy under Churchill's influence. Many took a more sober view. The Bermuda conference unfortunately would not yield itself to the standard communique' saying in effect: "Both parties reached agreement on all matters of mutual interest." In advance Sir Winston stated emphatically that the Bermuda parley was preliminary to a meeting with the Russians; the President said it was not. Now State Dept. and Foreign Office experts were trying to find a superformula to get their principals off their respective hooks if neither should yield to the other.

"The President and Congress" - Ernest K. Lindley
One of the most persistent phenomena of the last few months
has been the efforts of members of the President's own party to
circumscribe his authority in the realm of international affairs.
The devices used have ranged from legislative provisos, through
investigations and vetoes on appointments, to speeches saying
what we will, or should do, under specified circumstances. In
a real sense, the major question may be, not whether the
President can win control of Congress, but whether he can escape
the control of Congress sufficiently to perform the highest
functions of his office.

#### TIME - June 8

## "The Nation: The Painful Question"

As truce prospects brightened again, the U.S. grew more conscious of a basic question about the Korean situation: Under present conditions, is truce on the same side as right? It is a question which a peace-minded nation faces reluctantly. Yet it was an inevitable question once the U.S. entered a war for moral principle and then permitted its will-to-win to be hobbled by hesitation on the battlefield and by pressures of domestic and international politics. Last week the question of right prompted widespread misgivings based largely on the fear that truce -- on the most lenient terms the UN has yet offered -- might turn out in fact to be victory for the Communists. Bob Taft touched a sensitive nerve: many U.S. citizens believe that perhaps the U.S. is yielding up its leadership in an effort to find a settlement formula agreeable to its allies, without safeguarding the oft-repeated promise of a unified Korea. Perhaps the clearest answer to the question of truce v. right came from South Korea's Ambassador to the U.S., Dr. You Chan Yang. Said he: "If the Communists are talking about peace it is not as you and I are talking about peace... We mean real peace... they're talking about conquest."

#### BARRON'S - June 1

#### "The World At Work"

Russia's rebuff of Allied overtures on the Austrian treaty has chilled whatever hope Western statesmen may have entertained as to the peaceful intentions of the Malenkov regime. Even a bad settlement in Korea, if one is finally effected, cannot disguise the fact that the USSR, far from abandoning any of its postwar territorial gains, will not relax world tension unless it can extend its influence beyond the Rhine. The latest manifestation of the nature of the beast should end all wishful thinking in Western chancelleries on the prospects of an early truce with the Bear.

#### THE COMMONWEAL - June 5

## "Time For a Change" (Week by Week)

During his campaign performance, many of Gen. Lisenhower's admirers suspected that, as President, he would continue in his campaign role of the personally amiable, politically ambiguous, man-and voted for his opponent. Since taking office he has "come forth" intermittently, and briefly--in the admirable assertion of Executive courage in the Bohlen incident; the magnificent Presidential address on world affairs. Now the "real" Eisenhower has emerged for a third time in calling the Bermuda conference. The world must hope that this time the emergency will prove no mere "relief" -- that the leader is here to stay. The sad truth is that, to date, his brief appearances as President have not been enough. Leadership which is relief is no leadership at all. When Mr. Attlee wondered who was the more powerful in the U.S., Pres. Eisenhower or Sen. McCarthy, his question could only embarrass both govts. The President will be provided at Bermuda with opportunity to answer Mr. Attlee through his own exertion of independence, though it is here, probably, that his real troubles will begin, for they may come from his party members.

If Mr. Eisenhower is to formulate and execute a viable foreign policy which will keep the Allied coalition intact and offer any chance of achieving a modus vivendi with the Communist world, he may find that the Dirksens, McCarthys, and Knowlands will have no part of such a policy. They would rather "go it alone"—down a path which could end only in atomic war and destruction for the U.S. and the world. If the President refuses to take this path he will be denounced. If he asserts real leadership he may have to rely for support on the opposition party. No matter. If a real and enlightened Executive leadership comes, not as relief, but as a consistent policy, he can be assured of support, regardless of political parties. The whole free world awaits it.

LIFE - June 8

"Life on the Newsfronts"

In his foreign policy address Sen. Taft made the sensible plea that U.S. stop trying to force other countries to adopt policies they do not approve. But he carried his point too far and proposed that "we might as well forget the UN as far as the Korean war is concerned." Granting that Taft was entitled to his own opinion, the President sharply repudiated Taft's untimely "go-it-alone" proposal. The President allowed himself to be quoted directly so that the allied world could be reassured.

NEW REPUBLIC - June 8

"Washington Wire" - T.R.B.

We felt a warm glow for the President as he repudiated isolationism, and said earnest, heartfelt, sensible things about U.S. need for friends. It was as fine an extemporaneous appeal for patience and international steadfastness as you could wish.

"How Attlee Was Misinterpreted" (editorial)

Fair-minded observers will conclude that Attlee's comments are sound and to the point. He voiced highest praise for U.S. govts. past and present. He commended the American people. He plainly declared that his comments on our Constitution and system were not criticism but an effort to state "facts...which do not always seem to be apprehended." Obviously the Chicago Tribune Press Service which wrote the poisonous story, the newspapers which publicized it, and McCarthy who used it to incite hatred of Britain should apologize to Mr. Attlee and inform their followers of the truth. Some chance!

"Western Unity-Going...Going..." - Frank Gorrell
A new specter has begun to haunt W. Europe. There is fear
of a de facto repudiation by the Republican Admin. of the
bipartisan internationalism explicit in U.S. support of UN.
More and more sensible Europeans whose democratic sentiments are
beyond question and whose opinions carry weight, are less sure
that the struggle for power likely to affect most directly their
countries—and the world's—destinies in the immediate future
is taking place in the Kremlin. The struggle for power which
holds their attention and prompts anxieties is being waged in
Wash., symbolically at least between a man who was thought to
have more power than any other on earth and a man whose appetite
for power now seems boundless: Pres. Eisenhower and Sen.
McCarthy.

What Attlee said publicly, bluntly, is being said privately by thousands of other W. Europeans and thought by millions. This talking and thinking are already having their influence on political trends in Europe. Pope Pius XII, Christian Democrats in W. Germany and anti-clerical members of the French National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Commission would not have agreed in support of Sir Winston's rotion of speedy high level West-East

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#### NEW REPUBLIC (Contd.)

talks if there were not anxiety in all European political circles about future events in the U.S. A trend toward ideas of the Left, at least in foreign policy, is appearing in Great Britain and among the major peoples on the Continent. And everywhere it seems, a reaction from or perhaps a compensation for, what is seen as Washington's swing toward the Right, also in foreign policy.

Most Europeans believe that W. War II might have been avoided if an early GOP rebel, Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr., had not repudiated the League. The idea that McCarthy can cripple Eisenhower's effectiveness as a world leader grows at a time when the GOP Admin. is in fact building curtains—material and moral—between the U.S. and Europe. Malenkov must be smiling in gratitude toward the U.S. West—toward "Comrade" McCarthy.

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